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615 One of the difficulties with which this investigation is beset is that analogies between clan names, or the animals which gave their names to clans, have brought about certain mental associations and it is not always certain whether an alleged clan association may not have been assumed by the informant without having actually taken place. This fact also renders it very difficult to determine any genetic relationship between clans, even those most closely connected. For instance, an association was assumed by some of my informants between the Eagle and the Bird and also between the Turkey and the Bird, when, as a matter of fact, the Eagle is linked with the Raccoon and the Turkey with the Alligator. There is evidently a conscious tendency to find an association between the water animals. This explains why the Beaver is at times united with the Alligator, and the Alligator linked with the Aktayatci. For the same reason the Fish, Mink, and Otter are also sometimes said to be connected with the Beaver. Indeed the lack of intimate correspondence between clans named after water animals is rather marked when one considers the strength of the desire to unite them. As I shall have occasion to show more than once, Indians are most skillful in inventing reasons for institutions or customs already in existence. Native explanations of the association of the Bird and Beaver and the Bird and Alligator are examples.[51a] There are other linkings which might seem beyond Indian ingenuity to account for, yet I believe that reasons for such associations would be discovered by them.

As nearly as can be made out from the information given by Pareja the Timucua of Florida had the following phratries:

White Deer, in some provinces called Great Deer (no linkages given).

Dirt (or Earth) (no linkages given).

Fish (including two minor divisions); Tucunubala, Irihibano; Apichi (Rabbit?).

Buzzard; a clan called Nuculaha (consisting of three coordinate or subordinate parts); Chorofa; Usinaca; Aychanisino; Napoya; Amacahuri; White Fox; Amusaya.

Bird; Bear; Habachaca; and others.

Acheha; Panther; Partridge; Dog (Efaca); Hobatine; Quasi; Chehelu.

Moieties

•616 In addition to the linking of clan to clan, varying considerably as we have seen, from one town to another, there existed a dual division of clans to which allusion has several times been made. This did not run across clans like the Chiefs and Warriors societies of the Yuchi [52] but separated clan from clan. One of these two

[51a] See pp. 145, 149.

[52] See Speck, Ethnology of the Yuchi, pp. 76-78.

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One of these two
moieties was called Hathagálgi, "White people" or "White clans," while the other was usually known as Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech," a term also applied to tribes like the Hitchiti, Alabama, and Yuchi, which do not use the Muskogee language. This latter was also known by certain alternative terms or nicknames. One of these is said to have been Sahanálgi, and is affirmed to have been an old name which my informant thought had reference to some sort of yell. Another nickname was Laksafáskálgi, which is, however, applied to the tástánágálgi or leading warriors, the Deer clan, in Pakan tallahassee. A single informant told me that they sometimes called themselves Laslagálgi, "Blacks," but according to another this was a term which a man sometimes bestowed in jest on his own clan. Again, we have the term Aská'málgi, the meaning of which I did not obtain. By others the word Hola'tági or Hola'tálgi was used. In the Apalachee dialect and in Timucua hola'ta meant "chief." One informant stated, however, that this was applied to an arbor or cabin at the square grounds where all kinds of clans were mixed together. According to the same man the Hathagálgi were too much respected to be the subject of nicknames, yet I heard from still another quarter that they were called Isti alumba, which seems to mean "people who stick or adhere together," in contradistinction to the Isti tciloki, "people of a different speech." The respect above indicated was directed particularly to the Wind clan, as we shall see when we come to speak of punishments. This clan enjoyed privileges like those of a superior caste.

One of the oldest of the Tukabahchee Indians told me the following short myth which contains some native speculations regarding the origin of the ball game and ball game costume and at the same time the origin of the dual division of clans.

"Once upon a time the animals that walk on land played against everything in the air, and they disputed as to the position of the bat. The land animals said 'Let him go up with you,' but the air creatures did not want him. They disputed about him for some time, for neither side would take him, but finally he went with the animals. When the game took place he proved so quick and was able to fly and dart about so easily that he enabled the land animals to win. Just as the animals dressed at that time the people who played ball dressed in later times, and it was then perhaps that the division between Whites and Tcilokis began."

There is a somewhat longer version of this story in the Tuggle collection, but no deductions regarding dress or customs are drawn from it.

Just as the linking of clans disagrees in different towns, so does the line of division between these two sets of clans differ, and the following table shows how the clans were divided in each town and at the

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same time from what town or towns each clan was reported. Numbers after the W and Tc tell how the clans were associated in phratries within the town, the 1's being in one phratry, the 2's in another, and so on.

TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES

UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Talladega	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W	W	W		W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc.
Abihka-in-the-West	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(1)	Tc(4)	
Kan-tcati	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Otciapofa	W(1)	W(2)		Tc(3)		Tc(4)	W(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Tulsa Little River	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)		Tc(5)	W(6)	?(6)	Tc(7).
Lutcapoga	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(6)	?(7).
Okfuskee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	Tc(9).
Tcatoksofka	W	W	W	W	Tc	Tc	Tc	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Nuyaka	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8)	
Talmutcasi	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Pakan tallahassee	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6?).
Wiogufki	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	W?(2)	Tc(3)	W?(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Tukpafka	W			W		Tc	Tc	Tc	
Asilanabi	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)
Okchai (probably same connections).	W	W	W	W	W	Tc		Tc	Tc.
Łálogálga	?					?		?	
Wiwohka	?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	(?5)	?(6)	?(7 perhaps 6).
Tuskegee	W(1)	W(2)	?(3)	W(4)	Tc?(4)		Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc?(6).
Koasati No. 2	W(1)	W(1)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2)	Tc(2).

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tami	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Snake
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)	W							
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati		Tc(3)						
Otciapofa		Tc(3)	W(9)	Tc(10)				
Tulsa Little River		?(3)	?(5)		Tc(5)	?(3)	Tc(9)(7)	
Lutcapoga		?(6)		?(4)	?(7)	?(7)		
Okfuskee		Tc(3)	Tc(6)	Tc(5)			Tc(5)	
Tcatoksofka						W	Tc	
Abihkutci	W(2)	Tc(7)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(7)	Tc(7)	Tc(4)	
Nuyaka								
Talmutcasi		?						
Pakan tallahassee	W(2)			W(2?)			W(2?)	
Wiogufki		Tc(5)		W?(2)	Tc(6)		W?(2)	Tc(2).
Tukpafka		Tc						
Asilanabi		Tc(4)		Tc(2)			Tc(2)	
Okchai (probably same connections).				W			W	
Łálogálga								
Wiwohka	?(2)	?(6)	?(4)	?(3)	?(6)		?(3)	?(3).
Tuskegee		Tc(6)		Tc(4)				
Koasati No. 2								

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

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UPPER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Fox	Wolf	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Otter	Toowasta	Tapasola
Talladega								
Abihka (near Eufaula)								
Abihka-in-the-West								
Kan-tcati								
Otciapofa								
Tulsa Little River					?(9)	Tc(10)		
Lutcapoga							?(1)	
Okfuskee								
Tcatokaofka								
Abihkutci	Tc(7)	Tc?(7)	W(1)	Tc?(5)	Tc(6)			
Nuyaka								
Tasmutcasi								
Pakan tallahassee			W(1)		Tc(4)			
Wiogufki								
Tukpafka								
Asilanabi						W(2)?		
Okchai (probably same connections).								
Ilalogalga								
Wiwohka			?(1)		?(5)		?(6)	
Tuskegee					Tc(5)			
Koasati No. 2								Tc(2).

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatci
Tukabatchee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(6).
Atasi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3?)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(8).
Kealedji	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	W(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(4).
Laplako	W(1)	Tc(2)	W(2?)	W(2?)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(7).
Liwahali	W	W	W		Tc?	Tc	Tc		Tc.
Hilibi		W(1)	W(2)	?	Tc(3)	Tc(4)		Tc(5)	Tc(6).
Eufaula (Upper)	W(1)	W(2?)	W(2?)	W(?)	W(6)	[W(4) (J. L.)] Tc(3)	Tc(4)[1]	Tc(5)	Tc(5).
Alabama	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(5)	Tc(3?) W[2]	Tc(4)	Tc(2)		Tc(4).
Alabama in Texas	?(1)	?(2)		?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tami	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Tukabatchee		Tc(8)		Tc(4)		Tc(7)	Tc(4)	Tc(8).
Atasi		Tc(7?)		Tc(4?)			Tc(4)	
Kealedji	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(4)			Tc(4)	Tc(7).
Laplako		Tc(?)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)		Tc(3)	?
Liwahali								
Hilibi	W(1)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)			Tc(3)	
Eufaula (Upper)	W	Tc(5)		W(6)			W(6)	
Alabama							Tc(3?)	
Alabama in Texas	?(4)						?(3)	

[1] Formerly it is said to have been White.

[2] According to Billy Yahola.

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

UPPER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)—Continued

Town	Wokxi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjâmi	Fish
Tukabahchee	Tc(4)	W(1)		Tc(6)				
Atasi								
Kealedji	Tc(4)	W(1)	Tc(7)				Tc(7)	
Łaplâko				Tc(5)				
Ławahali								
Hîlîbi								
Eufaula (Upper)		W(1)						
Alabama				Tc(2)				
Alabama in Texas		?(1)		?(5)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Teokote	Salt	Nok-łaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapa-sola
Tukabahchee								
Atasi								
Kealedji		Tc(7)						
Łaplâko								
Ławahali								
Hîlîbi								
Eufaula (Upper)								
Alabama				W(2)				
Alabama in Texas				?(2)				?(3).

LOWER CREEKS (WHITE TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayatsi
Kasihta	W(1)	W(2)	W?	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(3)	Tc(3).
Hitchiti	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	W(3)	?(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)		Tc(3)
Okmulgee	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(1)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(6)	Tc(57).
Yuchi	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	W(4)	Tc(1)	Tc(1)		

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tâmi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Kasihta	W(2)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)				Tc(3).
Hitchiti		Tc(6)	Tc(4)					
Okmulgee	W(2)	Tc(6)		Tc(4)				Tc(6).
Apalachicola	W(2)	Tc(8?)		Tc(3)	Tc(3)		Tc(3)	
Yuchi	W(2)							

Town	Wokxi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Łidjâmi	Fish
Kasihta			Tc?(6)	Tc(5)?				W?(1).
Hitchiti			Tc(4)		Tc(3)			
Okmulgee				Tc(5)				
Apalachicola			Tc(4)	Tc(4)	Tc(3)			
Yuchi		W(1)		Tc(1?)				W(4).

Town	Toad	Cane	Teokote	Salt	Nok-łaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapa-sola
Kasihta								
Hitchiti								
Okmulgee								
Apalachicola	Tc?(4)							
Yuchi								

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

LOWER CREEKS (RED TOWNS)

Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayaici
Coweta	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(5)	Tc(4)	Tc(4).
Likatcka	?	W			?	Tc	?		?.
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)	Tc(2)	?(3)	?(3)	W(4)	?(5)	?(5)	?(6)	?(4).
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	W(27)	Tc(6)	Tc(7)	Tc(7).
Osochi	?	?(1)	?	?	?	?	?(2)	?	?.

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tami	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox
Coweta		Tc(4)		Tc(4)				Tc(4).
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(2)	?(6)	?(5)	?(3)	?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	
Chiaha	W(2)	Tc(7)		Tc(5)				Tc(7).
Osochi	?(1)	?			?			?.

Town	Wokxi	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Lidjami	Fish
Coweta				Tc(5)				
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(4)	?(1)	?(1)	?(3)	?(4)	?(1)		
Chiaha		W(1)			Tc?(37)			W?(7).
Osochi				?(2)				

Town	Toad	Cane	Tcokote	Salt	Nokfaha	Kantali	Asunwa	Tapasola
Coweta								
Likatcka								
Eufaula Hobayi	?(1)		?(1)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	?(2)	
Chiaha								
Osochi								

SEMINOLE TOWNS [1]

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Town	Wind	Bear	Bird	Beaver	Alligator	Deer	Panther	Raccoon	Aktayaici
Ochasee	W?(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	(W)(37)	Tc(4).
Okfuskee	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(3)	?(4)	?(2)	?(5)	?(2)	?(4).
Tallahassuti	Tc(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(6)		Tc(6).
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)	?(4)	?(3)	?(5)	?(5)		?(3).
Eufaula	?(1)	?(2)	?(3)		?(4)	?(5)	?(6)	?(7)	?(4).
Ziwahali	W(1)	W(2)	W(2)	W(2)	Tc(3)	Tc(4)	Tc(5)	Tc(6)	Tc(3)
Chiaha	W(1)	W(2)	W(3)	W(4)	Tc(5)	Tc (6)		Tc(7)	Tc(5).
Miksuki		?		?	?		?		

[1] [For key to symbols, see pp. 157-158, category 116. -- Analyst

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TABULATION OF CREEK TOWNS, CLANS, AND MOIETIES—Continued

SEMINOLE TOWNS—Continued

Town	Wolf	Potato	Pahosa	Tâmi	Kapitca	Eagle	Turkey	Fox	Woksi
Ochesee	W(2)	W(3)			Tc(4)				
Okfuskee		?(2)	?(2)		?(4)				
Tallahasutci		?(4)		W?(5)	?(8)		?(5)		
Hitchiti	?(2)	?(4)	?(5)	?(3)					
Eufaula		?(8)	?(5)	?(4)	?(4)		?(4)		
Ławahali		Tc(6)	Tc(4)	W(2)	Tc(3)		W(2)		
Chiaha		Tc(9)						Tc(7)	
Mikasuki		?							

Town	Skunk	Mole	Wildcat	Snake	Otter	Toad	Fish	Teokote	Salt	Cane
Ochesee				Tc(4)	W?(1)					
Okfuskee				?(4)						
Tallahasutci				Tc(8)						
Hitchiti	?(1)	?(6)		?(3)	?(1)	?(6)		?(6)		?(5).
Eufaula				?(4)						
Ławahali				Tc(3)	W(2)				W(2)	
Chiaha	W(1)									
Mikasuki					?					

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On examining this list we find but one town in which the Wind are set down as Tcilokogâlgi. This is the Seminole town of Tallahasutci and I believe the statement to be an error. The Seminole towns were built up from several different Creek towns and do not represent an old organization. Among other changes this institution of Whites and Tcilokis fell rapidly into decay, and for three of the towns I have been unable to get any information. Moreover, all of the old men of Tallahasutci are dead and, although I am sure that my informant tried to give correct information, he probably erred. The Bear occurs twice as Tciloki, in Eufaula Hobayi and Łaplâko. In the first case not much reliance is to be placed on the information, since the town has long given up its square and my informant merely said in a general way that the Bear were the Tciloki and the Alligator the Whites. The information regarding Łaplâko was, however, from one of my oldest informants and was furnished in a positive manner without hesitation. It is true that in the sister town of Łiwahali the Bear is given as White, but my Łiwahali informant was a comparatively young man, and the Łiwahali square was given up much before that of Łaplâko. In accordance with the history of the Creek towns, as worked out in another place,[53a] Łaplâko and Łiwahali would seem to have represented a division more ancient than the Tukabahchee, Eufaula, or many other groups of towns upon the Red side, and it is quite likely that the assignment of the Bear to the Tciloki was peculiar to them. In the same towns

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[53a] Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 254-258.

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the Bird and Beaver are White. This is their usual classification, but my lists show that they were Tciloki in Alabama, Koasati, Apalachicola and two of the Abihka towns. That they were actually Tciloki in Alabama is attested by several informants within and without that town, and one of my interpreters, himself a Tukabahchee, recalled, as a subject of general amusement, that when a ball game was to be played the Bird clan in Alabama sided against the Whites. If the Bird and Beaver were Whites in Alabama they were probably Whites in Koasati also, the two towns having been close together and being related in language. It is also probable that this difference obtained among the Hitchiti. It is true that in Okmulgee the Bird appear as White and the Beaver as Tciloki and in Hitchiti proper the Beaver as White and the Bird as Tciloki, but my authorities for this were much younger than the one for Apalachicola and their squares were among the first to be given up. In two of the four Abihka towns the Bird and Beaver would seem to have been White and in two Tciloki. The information with respect to Talladega, in which the two are Whites, should have been the most correct, since that square is still maintained; since the Bird and Beaver seem to be Tciloki among the tribes incorporated into the Creeks, perhaps the disturbance in some Abihka towns may have been due to the Natchez who settled with them. The Beaver are also given as Tciloki in Otciapofa and Kasihta. In the latter place this seems to have been a late arrangement, due to the fact that there were no Birds, and the three Beaver were seated with the Potato clan and hence classed on the same side with them. Something like this may be the secret of the change at Otciapofa. Another reason is suggested by the case of Asilanabi, where the Beaver was also Tciloki although the Bird was White. My information was from the medicine maker of Asilanabi and Łałogálga and is probably correct. It appears that the anomaly was due in part at least to the association of the Beaver with water animals like the Alligator.

But sometimes the association of the Alligator and Beaver seems to have worked in the opposite direction, the Alligator being placed among the Whites. From my notes this would appear to have been the case at Talladega, the old Abihka town near Eufaula, Oklahoma, at Pakan tallahassee, Wiogufki, Okchai, Atasi, Eufaula Hobayi, and Yuchi. While some of these cases do not rest on altogether satisfactory information there can be no doubt that such a classification occurred at times. We have no means of knowing whether it was characteristic of the Creeks in olden days or is a later innovation. The Deer clan is said, on the best authority obtainable, to have been reckoned a White clan in Chiaha, and this, according to an Indian of the neighboring Coweta town, was because it was there associated with the Bird. It might also be mentioned that in Tukabahchee the

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Deer were employed as henihas during the women's dance, and the henihas, as we shall see, were connected with peace. In Otciapofa the Pahosa are said to have been not merely Whites but the leading clan among the Whites, and as the Pahosa and Deer were uniformly linked together the condition noted in Chiaha may have been duplicated in Otciapofa. The Panther clan is given as White in Otciapofa, Little River Tulsa, Wiogufki, and Kealedji, the evidence in the last case being particularly good. Although the Panther is to-day almost always regarded as Tciloki some of my oldest and best informants, including Jackson Lewis and Big Jack of Hilibi, asserted positively that it was properly a White clan. According to the latter it was a White clan which had been turned over to the Tciloki to make their numbers even with the numbers of the Whites. Referring back to the origin myths it is seen that corroborative evidence may be adduced from that source.[42] If the Panther was anciently White it is to be presumed that the Wildcat was White also, but of this I have no certain knowledge. The Potato and Raccoon were said by one of my very best informants to have been reckoned as White clans in the Seminole town of Ochesee. While I am not prepared to deny the fact it would be so unique that I believe it must have been due to some later readjustment and does not represent an original condition. An informant reported that the Eagle was a White clan in Tcatoksofka but this was probably due to a mistaken association of the Eagle and Bird clans such as I have mentioned elsewhere.

Summing up, then, we find that the Wind and Bear are almost always White, the Raccoon, Aktayatci, and Potato almost always Tciloki, the Bird and Beaver Tciloki occasionally but usually White, the Alligator, Deer, and Panther White occasionally but usually Tciloki. The clans linked with each of these so constantly as to be reckoned subdivisions were considered of the same moiety.

At first sight it would seem as though the connection of the names of the White clans with peace were very remote, but "where there's a will there's a way," especially when it comes to ex post facto explanations, and here is how my good informant, Jackson Lewis, solved the enigma in connection with four of these.

"The Wind is considered a peace clan because the wind can drive away clouds, fogs, and so on, and bring on clear, pleasant weather for mankind. The name of the Bird clan is understood to apply to birds with white plumage, such as the crane, pelican, spring crane, etc. Crane feathers were borne by dancers belonging to White clans at Tukabahchee, while those of the other side carried eagle feathers. The Bear is a peace clan because the bear is regarded as exceedingly watchful and therefore useful in the interests of peace. The Wolf, as a branch of the Bear, is a peace clan because the Wolf is a close

[42] See pp. 111–113.

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observer, active and spare, and he forms a kind of outpost for the Bear." 616 621

An additional reason for the association of wind with peace is the myth that in the beginning of things, at the time when men were first separated into clans, it drove away the mists then enveloping them and revealed them to one another."[a]

These two divisions have not had anything to do with marriage regulations, at least in recent times. I was told that each formed an exogamous group in Koasati, but the Koasati are so reduced in numbers to-day that it is doubtful whether such information may be relied upon. More important was the statement of Jackson Lewis that anciently members of White clans did not intermarry. However, he did not affirm that the same was true of the Tciloki, and his assertion remains practically unsupported. I have a few cases in which exogamous groups are reported including clans belonging to both sides, though further investigation may show this to be an error. Thus in Abihka-in-the-West the Wind and Bear, reported as usual to have been White, are said to have formed one phratry with the Panther which was given as Tciloki. In Asilanabi the Bear and Bird, which were Whites, were united with the Beaver and Alligator, which were Tciloki. In Tuskegee the White Beaver are said to have united with the Tciloki Alligator. In Łapłáko the Bear, Bird, and Beaver are said not to have intermarried, although the first is given as a Tciloki clan in this town and the other two as White clans. In Alabama the Bear and Panther are put together—the former a White clan, the latter a Tciloki. In Okmulgee and Hitchiti the Bird and Beaver are assigned to opposite sides but one phratry, though here, as stated above, I have reason to believe that they were both Tciloki. Among the Yuchi the Wind are said to have been Whites and the Deer and Panther Tciloki, while the three were in one exogamous group. 616 621 582

The White clans undoubtedly had to do with peace, while the others were "bearers of the red sticks" and hence were war clans, but the terms "peace and war" are not given to them as names, nor is the adjective red usually coupled with the Tciloki. There is reason to believe that this dual division had something to do with the dual division of towns to be considered presently, but it is now difficult to make out just what that connection was. At any rate they served one definite purpose, to determine the sides in practice games played within each town, the Whites and Tciloki always forming the two parties. 616 621 526

Among the Texas Alabama, where there has long been but a single town or one or two related villages, practice games were all that could be indulged in. It is to be supposed that in former times they had 616 621 526 177

[a] See pp. 111-112.

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the same dual division as the other Creeks, but it is now entirely forgotten. In later years, at all events, the men and women played against each other in the two-goal game, something unheard of among the Creeks proper and due without doubt to an entire breakdown of the ancient customs. I was also told that when the men did play against each other the Daddy-longlegs, Bear, and Deer "stood" the other clans. This, however, I believe to have been another modern device, and a suggestion of something more primitive is contained in the statement of one of my oldest informants to the effect that the fathers of the Bear, Salt, and Wind clans always played against the sons of those clans. The others, including evidently the men of those three clans, "divided up any way." The suggestiveness about this lies in the fact that among the Creeks the Bear, Salt, and Wind are usually considered White clans.

As mentioned above, in the tcitahaia or "feather dance" eagle and buzzard feathers were carried by the Tciloki dancers and white crane feathers by those from White clans.

GENERAL REMARKS

Some general considerations are to be appended regarding the functions of Creek clans and clan aggregates and the customs connected with them. One of my informants remarked that "clans have everything to do with marriage," yet it is evident from what has been said above that in practically none of the towns were all of the exogamous groups identical with single clans. Another asserted that persons of the same clan in unrelated towns could marry, while if the towns were considered branches of one group they could not. This was, however, flatly denied by everyone else, all maintaining that marriage into the clan of the mother was absolutely prohibited, no matter whether the persons concerned belonged to the same town or lived hundreds of miles apart. Marriage into the father's clan was also held in disfavor, and it was said of a man who had done this, "He has fallen into his own [sofki] pot." This regulation was observed by the Texas Alabama as well as the Creeks proper. In ancient times the prohibition may have been more rigorous; later it covered only blood relatives in the father's clan. The assertion is made that marriage was prohibited with anyone related by blood, whether they belonged to the clans of the parents or not. According to some this took in all such persons with whom relationship could still be recognized; according to others it merely extended to the third degree. Such an extension might indeed have been anticipated from the fact that all children of men of the father's clan were called brothers and sisters and the individuals so designated might belong to any exogamous group throughout the tribe. It is said that a man was allowed to marry a woman of another town belonging

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By eliminating the Texas Alabama and the doubtful and less well-authenticated material in the above data and reducing all of the towns of each group under one head we obtain the following summary result. Alternative possibilities are in parentheses.

Town	Chief	Henihá
Abihka	Bear	Raccoon.
Tulsa	Beaver	Bird (or Wind).
Okfuskee	Bear	Wind (or Bird).
Pakan tallahassee	Aktayatci (or Bear)	Do.
Wiogufki	Aktayatci	Wind.
Okchai	Bear	Do.
Wiwohka	Panther (or Bird)	Do.
Tuskegee	Wind or Bear	Bear or Wind.
Koasati	Raccoon	Wind.
Tukabahchee	Eagle (or Raccoon)	Do.
Atasi	Bear	Do.
Kealedji	Raccoon	Do.
Łapłáko	Bear	Bird (or Wind).
Hilibi	Aktayatci	Alligator.
Eufaula, Upper	do	Do.
Alabama	Bear	Aktayatci.
Kasihta	do	Wind (or Támi).
Hitchiti	Bird (or Támi or Raccoon)	Deer.
Okmulgee	Bear	Wind (?).
Apalachicola	Wind (or Deer)	Bear (or Bird).
Coweta	Fish (or Wind)	Bird.
Eufaula Hobayi	Kapitca	Deer (or Wind)
Chiaha	Fox or Potato	Bear.
Osochi	do	Wind (or Panther).
SEMINOLE TOWNS		
Ochesee	Beaver	Bird.
Okfuskee	do	Do.
Talk'hasutci	do	Do.
Hitchiti	Bird	Toad.
Eufaula	Kapitca	Panther (tástánágí).
Iwahali	Bird (or Potato)	Bear (or Bird).
Chiaha	Bear	Wind (tástánágí).
Mikasuki	Alligator (or Snake)	Panther (or Alligator).

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A study of this table yields certain very interesting facts. Taking the henihálgi clans first we find that with few exceptions these come from the White side. The Deer occurs twice, once in Hitchiti and once in Eufaula Hobayi, but in the latter case there is an alternative possibility, while the former applies simply to the last organization of the Hitchiti square. Nevertheless this clan is said to have been used at Tukabahchee as henihálgi during the women's dance. The old woman who gave me the data for Apalchicola said that anciently

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the Hitchiti square was the same as in the Apalchicola town. On the other hand the Seminole Hitchiti had the Toad clan, generally considered akin to the Deer, as their henihâlgi. The Deer was, however, considered a White clan in Chiaha, and Chiaha anciently spoke the Hitchiti language. It is therefore possible that the Deer was once a White clan among Hitchiti-speaking people. Again, the Alligator and their allies were the henihâlgi at Hilibi and Upper Eufaula, perhaps also in the Mikasuki town; indeed an old Mikasuki Indian told me that the Alligator were considered the henihâlgi among all Seminole. While this does not seem to agree with the statements of other Seminole Indians there may nevertheless have been truth in it, since the clans given as henihas among the Seminole are often those which furnished the second chief, and the old organization appears to have fallen to pieces. Possibly the position of the Alligator as henihâlgi may have resulted from the influence exerted by the Eufaula band who formed a considerable body among the Seminole. The Alligator, like the Deer, was also sometimes a White clan, and much more frequently. The Aktayatci are given as henihâlgi among the Alabama by one informant, but the Alabama town is small and the organization badly broken down, and, besides, another informant stated that the Alligator or Bird were the only henihas. Moreover, the Aktayatci in Alabama were said to form part of the same phratry as the Deer which is sometimes White. Only in the Abihka towns have we a well accredited case of a clan of henihas never reckoned among the Whites. But although the Raccoon clan there plainly performed the functions of the henihâlgi one of the very men who gave me the information stated that the south bed was called "bed of the henihâlgi" because the Wind clan sat there, and he added that "it was understood that in every town the Wind clan were the henihâlgi." The chief of the Mikasuki said the same thing. This, of course, can only mean that in the Abihka town there has been a dislocation of the older usage.

An inspection of the table shows the Wind clan mentioned as henihas seventeen times, eight times without qualification. Next stand the Bird, mentioned ten times, and the Bear four times. There can be little doubt that it was the general opinion that the Wind should be henihâlgi, and I am inclined to believe that anciently they were so to a greater extent than at present, but as far back as Hawkins's time we know that they were not henihâlgi in a town as important as Kasihta; perhaps their enjoyment of this dignity was partly theoretical and never carried out in all cases. Nevertheless it is certain that almost invariably the henihâlgi were a White clan, and this I believe once to have been universally the case, for the henihas were associated with peace and sometimes their bed was called the "white or peace cabin."

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with the Tuskegee and Muklasa. There are reasons for thinking that the Osochi may originally have spoken Timucua.[13]

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Socially, as has already been indicated, these towns were divided into two classes which may conveniently be called White and Red, respectively, as one set was devoted to the maintenance of peace,

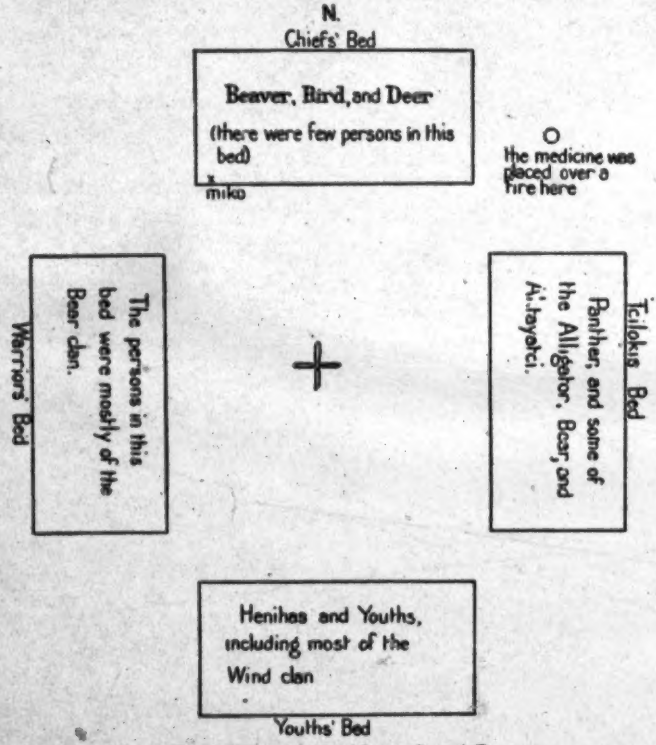
N.
Chiefs' Bed
Beaver, Bird, and Deer
(there were few persons in this bed)
miko
the medicine was placed over a fire here
Warriors' Bed
The persons in this bed were mostly of the Bear clan.
Tcilokis Bed
Panther, and some of the Alligator, Bear, and A'tayetci.
Henihes and Youths, including most of the Wind clan
Youths' Bed

FIG. 30.—Plan of the Atasi Square Ground (I)

the other to the prosecution of war. There appears, moreover, to have been some sort of association between White clans and White towns and Red clans and Red towns, the chiefs of the towns of each set being chosen from the corresponding clans.[13a] At the present day, however, the Creeks themselves do not use these names. In fact there are few who can give any well-defined term for the two classes, except to call them "fires" or to call the towns opposed to

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[13] See Bull. 73, Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 26.

[13a] See pp. 196-197.

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towns alone being under mikos.[2] If he means by warriors men bearing the title tástánagi we can only say that we have not the slightest proof of it other than his statement. If he means that Red towns were governed by mikos from Red clans he is probably right, as we have already seen. We may say regarding the miko, as he is exhibited to us both by early writers and by the Creeks themselves, that he was usually associated with peace. The bed in which he sat at the square ground was almost always occupied by White clans except when the chief himself belonged to a Red clan and then the

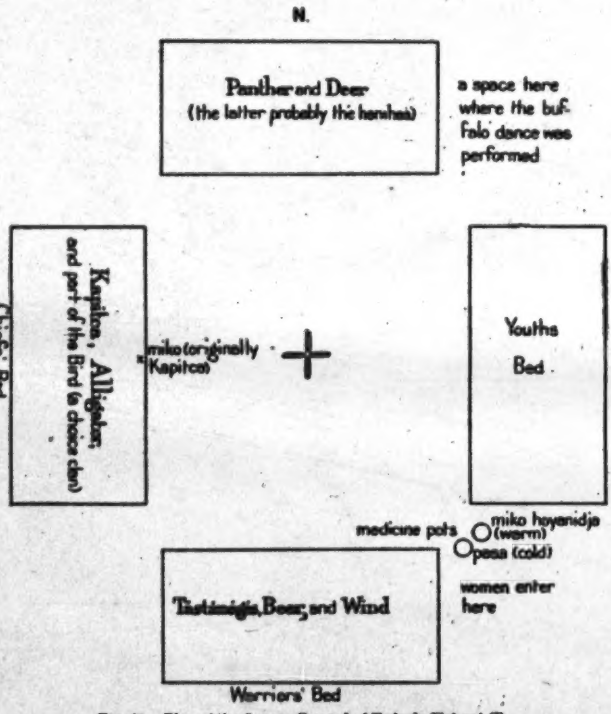

FIG. 80.—Plan of the Square Ground of Eufaula Hobayi (I)

only exceptions were in the cases of the miko's clan and clans linked to it. Moreover, the Chiefs' bed is often called "the White bed." The miko is thus the head of the town as a civil body as contrasted with its military activities. I have been told that in ancient times the miko had particular charge of the big house or tcokofa and the public granary. Hawkins says of him that he "superintends all public and domestic concerns; receives all public characters; hears their

[2] Swan in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. v, p. 279.

[i.e., Swan.-- Analyst]

3:Swanton E-5 (1911-12, 1929)1931 NN11 Creek NN11

614 The question naturally arises whether some of these clans may not have been brought in with formerly independent tribes. All we can say is that certain clans are more prominent in some of these tribes than among the true Muskogee but whether they were brought in by them we do not know. Thus, as just mentioned, the Aktayatci was particularly prominent among the Hitchiti, as were the Snake, Kapitca and Woksi, and in a more pronounced manner the Toad, Mole, and Tcikote. The Daddy-long-legs and Salt were similarly associated with the Alabama, the former, indeed, being hardly known outside of that tribe.

●616 Besides this division into phratral groups all of the clans were ranged in two moieties called respectively, Hathagálgi, "White People," and Tcilokogálgi, "People of a different speech." The Wind and Bear with their phratral associates were almost invariably White, and the Raccoon and Aktayatci and their allies almost invariably Tciloki. The Bird is usually White but among the Alabama and Koasati it is Tciloki. The Beaver is also White usually, but when it is associated with the Alligator and when the Alligator is not a White clan, the Beaver often becomes Tciloki. The Alligator is most often Tciloki but in a number of towns it is White. The Deer is usually Tciloki but it is White in a few towns. Today the Panther is almost always Tciloki but some of the oldest myths and some of my best informants assert that it was anciently White.

When I first went among the Creeks, I was told that in one or two towns the clan moieties were exogamous, but the greater number of my informants held the contrary opinion. I was much surprised, therefore, during my last visit to have most of my informants maintain that they were exogamous. This much is certain, that there were striking exceptions to this law in comparatively early times, for instance, in the case of the famous Creek speaker Hobohīł Yáhola. Probably it will never be possible to say whether this phratral exogamy was breaking down or growing in times known to us. In recent years the principal function performed by these moieties has been to determine the line-up of the players in practice games within the town. The important bearing the mere character of a name may have in social evolution is shown by the fact that, on account of the name, persons of European blood were usually reckoned as "friends" of the Hathagas, and in consequence the latter acquired a reputation as "progressives," while the Tcilokis were considered, and acted like, "conservatives."

621 Besides the clans, phratries, and moieties there were certain groups
624 in each town which had official functions. Some of these were